

# A POLITICIAN.

Gov. Hazen S. Pingree Balks Before the Social Problem.

## THE RACE'S PROBLEM TO BE GIVEN UP.

A Type of the Politician Class Utters a Cry that Denotes Impotence at Sight of the Social Problem, whose Laws they Cannot Fathom, whose Current they Cannot Stem, whose Approach Storn in Terrifies them—Potatoes Prove but a Tub to an Enraged Whale, and all Other Devices Prove themselves but so Many Other Potato-Patches. In this Predicament, the dull Politician Throws up the Sponge, Virtually, While the Socialist Alone, Guided by the Light of Science, Serenely Buckles Down to Work.

Gov. Pingree of Michigan has issued a message to the Legislature of his State. This is the season for such fruit: stacks of Governors have been doing the same thing. But this one is unique. Its merit consists in the portrait it takes of a portion of our "politician class," looking with scared eyes and empty heads at the approaching Social Storm. He says in part:

There is no feature of our times that should so alarm the patriot, nor is there any so well calculated to drive the well-meaning legislator to despair, as that which confronts us on all sides. In the rapid concentration of all the productive energies of the nation in the hands of overgrown corporations, or multiple corporations, called trusts, or where more solid combinations cannot be effected, by means of interlocking agreements for the purpose of limiting competition and controlling prices. The process began with the means of transportation, and has since extended to the railroads, telegraph lines, and telephones. In spite of the feeble effort of the federal interstate commerce law to check the tendency, it has continued almost unintermitted, and promises to continue in the future. The process has invaded other fields with the power of a glacier and the rapidity of a torrent. One by one, each of the great staples which form the necessities of life is falling into the hands of its special syndicates or trusts, or trade combine.

Individual enterprise, without opportunity without hope. Individualism is fast disappearing from the land. The free, self-reliant American is becoming more and more rare. We are becoming a nation of slaves, not to any one master, but to the handful of individual employers, and of helplessly dependent servants.

No doubt the capitalist politician is in "despair." His landmarks of old are disappearing. The former spread-eagle style of oration by which he got into power is telling less and less. Quick reforms have been offered by the bushel; but debate speedily punctured each bubble. The gambler's hooded, prophesies, promises that "good times" were bound to come, "after election," "after winter," "after the spring," "after the holidays," "after the war," "after the treaty of peace," after every imaginable thing, were one after another proved delusive. Despite the press' organized hysterical assurances that "the good times HAVE come," the pinch continues to be felt, and increasingly so.

What does the Pingree class of politicians know about the underlying causes of social distress? They see the Trust, that is to say the most improved method of production. But one sees not more than he has eyes to see with. Their eyes, untrained by study, accustomed to a superficial skinning of the surface, can not peer through the cloud that the Trust raises; they perceive not that all the hardships they complain about, all the loss of individuality, is ascribable, not to the concentration of gigantic powers of production, but to the private ownership of these concentrations. They braced themselves against concentration; as well might they have braced against the torrent of Niagara: one after another all their silly barriers were knocked aside by the irresistible law of economics and of human progress: Courts; Legislatures—all succumbed, or were broken through like cobwebs by a giant.

That all this happened obedient to a social law of progress that demands the production of the greatest amount of wealth with a minimum of labor, and that this end cannot be reached without just such concentration, our politician class knows as much about as the Chocwaw does of algebra. Yet it is happening, and in the measure that it does happen our politician class is driven more and more to its wits' end for political issues. Despair? Despair hardly expresses the mental predicament of these gentlemen! They stand aghast, perplexed, helpless, as helpless as the naked Indian before natural phenomena that go beyond his untutored understanding.

Contrast the posture of this politician class with the Socialist. While the former is in despair, the latter is tranquil and confident; while the former is helpless, the Socialist feels himself master of the situation; while the former sees only ruin ahead, the Socialist perceives a clear solution—the placing in the hands of the people, who would not tyrannize themselves, the present industrial weapons, that, being owned by the capitalist class, are implements of oppression—a solution behind which looms up an individuality more radiant and noble than any the human race has yet witnessed.

And the Socialist puts on his armor to usher in that day, while the Pingree class stands shivering by.

# IN READING, PA.

The S. L. P. Throws Down the Municipal Gauntlet.

READING, Pa., Jan. 8.—The city convention of the Socialist Labor party was held here at the Labor Exchange with Comrade Andrew P. Beyer as chairman. The convention was enthusiastic. It issued the following proclamation with the ticket attached:

## PROCLAMATION.

The Socialist Labor party of Reading, conforming to the demands of the National organization and harmonizing with the economic emancipation movement of the world, whereby finally, through political and legal means, the present state of overproduction, industrial cannibalism and social disorder is to be substituted by the co-operative commonwealth and all means of production and distribution shall be owned collectively and operated scientifically by the people, presents the following declaration for the municipal campaign of 1899, and pledges its candidates, if elected, to do their utmost for their adoption:

1. Absolute self-government, abolition of the veto power of the Mayor, all measures to be submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval, the people to have the right to initiate legislation by petition.

2. No contract labor, all city work to be given directly by the city without the intervention of contractors or middle men, the workmen to elect their own superior officers, not by a general vote of the people; that eight hours shall constitute a legal work day, and that the minimum wages shall be \$2 per day. The city shall furnish permanent employment to those not employed by establishing public works and operated co-operatively under the control of the municipal administration.

3. We demand that the city establish good public markets, fuel yards and other agencies for the distribution of the necessities of life, to be sold at cost.

4. We demand the establishment of free public baths and reading rooms.

5. The establishment of public halls in City Park, where public meetings may be held without expense to the participants.

6. The establishment of a city pharmacy and medical department, that pure medicine and competent medical attendance may be had at minimum cost or free when necessary.

7. We demand that political economy be taught in all public schools.

8. We condemn the present system of vagrancy laws, which treat poverty as a crime.

9. Since we deem those who suffer in the field of productive labor just as worthy of regard as those who suffer on the field of battle, we demand that a special fund be established for the payment of pensions to the aged, sick and disabled.

10. The acquisition by the municipality of all public utilities, such as street railways, light, etc., the same to be operated co-operatively by the employees under the direction of the municipal administration, and no employee to be discharged for political reasons.

11. School education of all children under 16 years of age to be accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, etc., when necessary.

12. These are our immediate demands, the first step toward the realization of the Socialist Commonwealth, in which each worker shall enjoy the full fruit of his labor. To them we pledge our support. And we call on you to aid in carrying them into effect.

13. The Socialist Labor party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unswayed by desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired, will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate; it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand firm as a rock, yet alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

## THE TICKET:

For Mayor: E. W. LEFFLER, 13th Ward.

For City Controller: WM. BUTLER, 13th Ward.

For City Treasurer: W. C. HOVERTER, 8th Ward.

For City Assessors: SAMUEL BUSBEY, 13th Ward.

ADAM SNECK, 12th Ward.

DANIEL HAFER, 9th Ward.

The capitalists have begun trying to intimidate our members, but we don't care worth a cent.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

# WOMAN IN THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY.

[Address Delivered by Mrs. May Wood Simons Before S. L. P. Branches of Section Chicago.]

It is a fact now very generally acknowledged that the economics of life form the great fundamental basis of society. The way in which man makes his livelihood acts and reacts on the individual and society, changing the nature and environment of the one and the institutions of the other. The evolution of woman has been no exception to this universal law.

Among every people and in all ages the economic stage of the society in which she lived has been the great factor in determining her condition. With few exceptions the hunting and pastoral stage, each an economic stage upon which savage society is based, but make her the burden bearer and sole worker of the family.

In this earliest form of society two classes appear; the working women and the warrior men. Speaking of this stage of society, Herbert Spencer says: "We read that custom limiting the actions of the men mainly to war and the chase, devolved on the women all the mental and laborious occupations. So rigidly are the women obliged to perform their duty that their husbands cannot help them on any occasion or in the greatest distress without incurring the highest ignominy."

In addition to having the care of her children she is compelled to build the home, carry all loads and often provide the food.

With almost the dawn of human life, moved by the mother instinct, we find her seeking and making a shelter for herself and helpless infant, thus becoming a house-builder, the first of the carpenters. It was she who went with the men to carry home the food from the hunt, and later digging the ground, planted the maize and potatoes, so being the food preparer and the mother of the farmers. When clothes were needed for the family, woman dried, softened and put together the skins of the animals killed. Later she wove the flax and wool and the household went forth clothed.

She first braided the bark and reeds into baskets, and shaped the clay into bowls, laying the foundation of the present great pottery making. In short, there is scarcely an industry that does not find its beginnings in the work of woman.

Physically a drudge from the beginning her mental faculties are narrowed and stunted, self-confidence is dwarfed and the power of initiative lost, while man's hunting and wandering but furnished opportunity for further growth and development, new ideas, a broader circle.

The ancient world paid little regard to its women, and this great half of humanity passed through all the phases of an evolution from a mere object of possession to a higher servant of her husband.

Even Athens, with all its ethical and esthetic ideas, had no conception of the equality of the mothers of her race. Her systems of philosophy found no place for woman.

In the middle ages, in that time called the Age of Chivalry, it must be remembered that historians have portrayed only the honor paid to women of the court. They have failed to picture fully the lives of the daughters and wives of the peasants who received no regard of rights from the hands of these same knights and whose lives were one long round of toil and mental depression. Excepting a court lady, a mistress or a sovereign, who through birth, beauty or talent had become a favorite, almost no mention is made of the women in the records or history of the time.

In all cases one fact is prominent that woman was made economically dependant on man. No other means of subsistence was open to her. Politically without rights and economically bound, they were more degraded than the laborer at the beginning of the 18th century.

With the opening of the industrial revolution in 1760 woman entered on a new stage of her evolution. The new industries found in her a valuable economic factor. She could manage a machine quite as well as a man and her service be obtained much cheaper.

Heretofore woman had been entirely domestic in her occupation. She had woven the cloth for the household and made the garments. Her work may be compared to that of the most primitive forms of society in that the produce was intended for use not for exchange. All was consumed in the home. Now for the first time woman began making things for commercial exchange, and it has been pointed out that, unlike the laborer, to her this change was complete. Many have shown that as the workingman saw his tools become machines the change was very great, that as he saw these instruments of production passing from his possession and becoming the property of another on whom he must depend for employment the revolution seemed complete; but few have enlarged on the fact that to woman this revolution WAS complete. Man had been gradually producing more and more for the market. The old domestic system was slowly giving place to a wider and wider circle of exchange. Woman formerly engaged wholly in work for home consumption stepped at once into the position of a social producer.

Says John Stuart Mill, speaking of this time from the standpoint of the

capitalist: "Women employed in factories are the only women in the laboring class of life whose position is not that of slaves and drudges precisely because they cannot be compelled to work and earn wages in factories against their will."

To the superficial observer she thus seemed to have gained an economic freedom. The history of the period, however, records the fact that with the growth of great industries the labor of this being without legal rights was mercilessly exploited and the conditions under which she worked were most barbarous. At this point many draw attention to the long series of factory acts as a triumph of philanthropic legislation. This is a complete misunderstanding of conditions.

The two English parties, one the exponent of the landed nobility the other of the newly arising manufacturers, found themselves opposed in their interests. Hence the whole factory legislation, apparently for the benefit of the workingmen and women, was purely an outgrowth of the opposition of the Agrarian Tories and the Liberal manufacturers.

Werner Sombart, in his recent work on Socialism, enlarging on this point says: "It does not require much penetration to see that, for example, the radical English legislation in favor of the working man has come to pass only through the spite of the Tories, agrarian in their interests against the Liberal manufacturers."

Further, as another reason for these same Acts, he says: "Shrewd legislation in favor of the working man is an excellent weapon for the large concerns to use against the small in order to do away with the disagreeable competition of petty manufacturers."

All this seems to put on a different basis the so-called "brightest achievement of legislation."

J. S. Mill, the mouth-piece of the commercial spirit of the time, did not see the root of the matter or the further evolution of industry, and wrote with a disregard of the fact that many women would be compelled to work in the factories in order to live, and that no choice would be open to them.

Preaching the doctrine of "Freedom of Contract," he failed to see the influence upon that theory of the growth of a vast laboring class shut out from possession in the means of production who would come in time to depend on another social class for the privilege of work for subsistence.

What then, would become of their freedom of contract when it was a matter of livelihood? More, he did not see that woman, the weaker physically, would be at the bottom in this struggle for employment, and, having the double problem of the laborer and the sex, would lack the one defence the laborer has—a vote in political matters. The law of the "survival of the fittest," ever pushing the weaker members to the wall, marked her as the most exploited of an exploited class.

The century has witnessed woman's complete enlistment in all lines of industry, from the mine and factory to the physician and college professor. Two generations ago, ninety of the departments of labor were open to women. At present they are actively engaged in 343 industries. That women are gradually displacing men in the labor world is evident from the fact that in the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 their number has increased from 14 per cent. to 17 per cent. of the whole number of persons engaged in all industries, while the number of men has decreased in the same period from 85 per cent. to 82 per cent. The greatest absolute increase has been in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, where the 300,000 working women in 1870 has increased to one million in 1890, or three for every one before.

Due to the greater use of machinery in the clock and watch-making trades, which till recently were largely hand industries, there has been the greatest relative increase in this work, the number of women having multiplied itself by four.

In viewing next particular occupations it is seen that women are filling certain industries at the expense of others. Already we have noted the gain in manufacturing and mechanical lines. Trade and transportation show an increase of five per cent., owing largely to women entering the offices as clerks. In the professions there has been a like gain. On the other hand the number of girls and women entering domestic service is continually diminishing. The whole number has decreased from 42 per cent. of all engaged in this industry to but 35 per cent. Their places as house-workers are being taken by men.

This vast increase of women in the labor world appears a dangerous thing to many, and is opposed not only by men, but by a part of her own sex. To those who watch the change of events, however, it seems but a transition stage in a natural evolution, and will eventually work out progress. At present only the numerous evil results are to be seen as society passes through this new stage. With women entering the factories, etc., the effect on the home and health and children has in many cases been most detrimental. It does not follow, however, as a

# THE VOTE.

Colorado's Increase Despite Counting Out—Fine Growth in Canada.

Owing to a typographical mistake, the total published last week was made about a hundred less than it actually was. Now, with the official returns from Colorado, which are about 200 less than the estimate, the total is 82,042. Only two States remain to be heard from finally: New Hampshire and Texas; in both the vote given last week is incomplete. The 82,000 are assured.

## COLORADO.

DENVER, Colo., Jan. 6.—Below is the official vote of the S. L. P. for the State of Colorado, as given by the State Canvassing Board:

Governor, Nixon Elliott..... 1,786  
Lieutenant Governor, N. H. Welling..... 1,881  
Secretary of State, T. C. Davis..... 1,830  
Attorney-General, F. W. Botcher..... 1,820  
Auditor of State, Christ. Miller..... 1,646  
Treasurer of State, John F. Meyer..... 1,729  
Superintendent of Public Institutions, Frances Sacke..... 1,481

As against 1,444 of last year, 140 votes were thrown in Fremont County on a technicality, they had voted the straight ticket except a host Senator for whom our boys had no nominee. Also a good deal of counting out is claimed by the comrades in Pueblo County on account of the closeness of votes of the main parties. As the law does not allow us any watchers at the polls it may be taken for granted. The vote by counties has not been obtainable as yet, shall send in as soon as we have it.

Fraternally,

H. WARNECKE, Secretary.

## CANADA.

LONDON, Ont., Jan. 6.—In March, 1898, the S. L. P. entered the political arena in London, Ont., and made a record of 126 as the first vote for the S. L. P. in the Dominion of Canada. Four days ago, on the 2nd instant, Section London again took the field in the municipal campaign with 9 candidates. Following result is declared at the official count:

Mayor, Fred. J. Darch..... 656  
Water Commissioner, Henry B. Ash-plant..... 923  
School Trustee, Ward 2, Jesse E. Barker..... 110  
School Trustee, Ward 6, Marie Westland..... 138  
ALDERMEN:  
Ward 2, A. R. Barker..... 178  
Ward 3, David Ross..... 221  
Ward 4, James Farrar..... 67  
Ward 5, Fred Appleton..... 325  
Ward 6, Ed. Westland..... 118

Total..... 709

On the municipal voters' list, 10 per cent. of the votes in the March contest are not included as disfranchised by limitation.

BRANTFORD, Canada.—We went into the election with only 3 candidates and polled 250 votes, which is pretty fair being organized only three months. It is the thin edge of the wedge, however, and we will be heard from again.

# IN ALLEGHENY, PA.

ALLEGHENY, Pa., Jan. 9.—We have put up the following ticket in this city:

For Mayor: Wm. J. Eberle.  
Common Council, 2nd Ward: Hayden Morgan.  
Select Council, 3rd Ward: Enos Schwartz.  
Common Council, 5th Ward: Wm. Hunt.  
Select Council, 6th Ward: R. W. Evans.  
Common Council, 7th Ward: Emil Guwang.  
Common Council, 7th Ward: John Zellhorn.  
Select Council, 12th Ward: Henry Peter.  
Common Council, 12th Ward: Wm. Weaver.  
Common Council, 12th Ward: Frank Limbach.  
Common Council, 13th Ward: J. J. Vossen.  
Common Council, 13th Ward: W. Zirk.  
School Director, 13th Ward: John E. Schmelz.  
School Director, 13th Ward: Anton Feunich.  
Ward Assessor, 13th Ward: Edward Schmelz.

In addition to the above we nominated candidates for the District Offices in the 13th Ward and a full ticket in Reserve township.

The convention first endorsed the national and municipal platforms of the S. L. P.

The city campaign opens with a lecture by Comrade Hickey in the banner Ward of Allegheny and Pittsburgh, the 15th Ward, Allegheny, where we rose from 26 votes in 1897 to 56 votes in 1898 and where we stand some show of electing our candidates or at least largely increase our vote. The organization in this Ward is good and we will have the hall jammed for Comrade Hickey—rain or shine. Our headquarters in the 15th Ward displays a banner bearing in letters two feet large the inscription: "Socialist Labor party, Branch No. 11. Proletarians unite." We will have a brass band of 18 pieces to greet Comrade Hickey. The band is to join the party in a body after the lecture.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns some time ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

# A PARSON.

Rev. Thomas Donohoe, D. D., Dodges the Social Problem.

## THE RACE'S PROGRESS TO BE CHECKED.

Civilized Warfare has Established the Principle that War Must be Conducted in a Manner as to Spare Life as Much as Possible; as a Result of this Principle, no Quarter is Given to the Forces that Insist Upon Holding an Untenable Position, and Therefore to Increase the Danger of Life—So is the Social Warfare of today; He Who Unconsciously Advances Untenable Theories Deserves no Quarter; He Prolongs the Period When Humanity is Left Hanging on the Cross.—A Buffalo Pa. son illustrates Such Unconscionable Conduct.

Under the pretentious title of "Popular Progress, the Cause of Agricultural Depression and the Remedy," the Rev. Thomas Donohoe, D.D., has published a 236-page book, whose principal merit is to portray the attitude of a portion of the "parson class" in sight of the pressing Social Question.

Trained to a profession that talks glibly and in detail upon things that neither the parson himself nor anybody else knows anything about; accustomed to "hold forth" upon the most superficial of information; and yet, not without some feeling for existing distress, a portion of the "parson class" launches head foremost into the debate now going on on the Social Question, without previous and systematic study of the question; and, consequently, cuts a supremely ridiculous figure. So with the Rev. Donohoe of Buffalo.

In his book, the Rev. Donohoe pictures touchingly the miseries of the present day and its shocking social inequalities; he has sense enough to realize that Labor can not hold its own as things are on account of the ever increasing supply of itself in the Labor market; nor does he fall into the error that some do of attributing this (to Labor) fatal increase to immigration; he recognizes that the surplus Labor is connected with the machine. From this fact, however, he draws the final conclusion—that the solution of the problem and the remedy lie in the restriction of the production of further machines.—As logical were it to say, in sight of a highwayman caving in the skull of a wayfarer with a crow-bar, that the way to stop murder is to restrict the production of crow-bars. The crow-bar, in and of itself, is a useful thing; what causes the mischief is, not the crow-bar, but the application to which it is put: in the possession of a highwayman a crow-bar is a mischievous thing; in the possession of an honorable man the crow-bar is a beneficial tool. So with the machine of today; the mischief it works is no feature of itself; it is a feature of the system of its ownership; as the crow-bar, in the hands of a highwayman is a mischievous thing, so the machine in the hands of the capitalist class is mischievous; and, as the crow-bar, in the hands of an honorable man, is good, so likewise, the machine, in the possession of the workers, of the people, would be a source of blessings untold.

Long shelves of literature on the mission of the machine and the important part it plays in pushing the race upward from the animal into a human existence are evidently a terra incognita to our Reverend. Machinery can not be too perfect and too numerous for man: the more highly developed it is the greater are its potentialities for good because all the more plentiful is the supply of wealth it makes possible, and thus removes arduous, degrading toil from the shoulders of the race, thus enabling it to develop in intellect and in morals. That the machine fails, to do so this to-day, in fact, does just the reverse; produces intensified suffering among the masses and correspondingly degrading affluence among the few, is the result of the machine being privately owned. So owned its beneficent capabilities are blighted.

The solution offered by the Rev. Donohoe is worse than no solution: he would arrest progress; he would check the onward march of civilization; he would hold back a run-away horse by the tail. Compare that with the Socialist solution, which, taking social evolution by the hand, advocates the complete development possible of the machine, and the stripping of it of the shackles that now lame it: PUBLIC OWNERSHIP! The Socialist grabs the run-away horse by the head.

The way to move safely upon ice is to put on skates, that is to say, increase the slipperiness and, by such increase, remove the friction that makes walking dangerous. The Rev. Donohoe would, seeing that ice is slippery, increase the friction offered by shoe-leather, straw-sand, perhaps, and thus make walking hard, and the swift, exhilarating speed of the skater impossible. The Socialist says: on with the skates!

H. Simpson will lecture this evening on "Making of the Constitution" at Sylvan Hall, 2314 Second avenue, near 119th street, New York

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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,065  
 In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 12,331  
 In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 31,157  
 In 1898 (Presidential) ..... 33,133  
 In 1899 (Presidential) ..... 38,604  
 In 1897 ..... 55,673

Whither leads the path  
 To simpler lives that leads?  
 Not down through flowery meads,  
 To reap an aftermath  
 Of youth's vainglorious weeds,  
 But up the steep, amid the wrath  
 And shock of deadly-hostile creeds,  
 Where the world's best hope and stay  
 By battle's flashes gropes a desperate way,  
 And every furl the fierce foot clings to bloods.  
 LOWELL.

## USING THE WORKINGMAN AS POLITICAL STEP-LADDER.

When, about four years ago, the "Reform" wave beat high in this city, and Labor was called upon by our "best element" to gather under the leadership of these "Gentlemen" for the purpose of overthrowing the Tammany Hall regime of corruption, a note of double warning was issued from the Socialist camp. The workingmen were warned, not to imagine that "washed crime" was any better than "unwashed crime"; their attention was called to it that the "gentlemen" were not after "good government," that what they were after was to escape being forced to pay blackmail to the "unwashed crime" of Tammany Hall as hush-money for the crimes committed upon Labor by the "washed crime"; and finally they were warned that, to take sides in the issue between the two packs was but to allow the Labor vote to be used as a step-ladder by which the winning set would mount to political preference, and, thereby, to increased power to tyrannize the workers. All the same, "Reform" won. It is unnecessary to recall the facts that went to demonstrate the justice of the Socialist warning. The "Reforming" gentlemen reformed nothing but in their own behalf: the workingman continued trodden-down, and the labor laws were violated as much as before, with the only difference that, formerly, these violations had to be paid for to Tammany by the "gentlemen," while now the "gentlemen" themselves pocketed the bribe.

Three years of "Reform," and the "Reformers" were again knocked out, since which time they have set up again their old cry against Tammany. But in doing so now they simply add special confirmation to the justice of the Socialist warning.

A pink of the "Reformers" is Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, elected Governor last year. His first care is to do what? It is to show how criminally the Tammany Hall police neglect to enforce the labor laws in the city of New York! Now, this Roosevelt was, during the "Reform" administration, the head of the New York police. Did he during his term instruct his subalterns on their duties with regard to the labor laws? Not in the remotest! Did he, when examining them, ascertain their qualifications on that subject? Not at all; on the contrary, what he did examine them on was upon how to break strikes (labor riots, he called it), and how to use an "improved" club on the heads of the working people: from beginning to the end of his administration, the factory and other labor laws of the State remained in this city as dead a letter as they had been and continue to be under Tammany!

The important thing in connection with the picture thus presented is not that the quarrel between the "gentlemen" and Tammany is like a quarrel between the Pot and the Kettle. The point we desire to call attention to is that "the interests of Labor," in the mouths of their exploiters—whether these be Tammanyites or "Gentlemen"—are simply used as step-ladders to reach political power.

The Tammany exploiters being "out," they charge the "Gentlemen" with "neglecting the interests of Labor," the "Gentlemen" being "out," they charge the Tammanyites with "neglecting the interests of Labor"; each, when out of power, is a devoted friend of Labor; in power, is as ravenous a malefactor and political vampire as the other:

The Devil, being sick, the Devil a monk would be;  
 The Devil, being well, the Devil a monk was he.

C. L. Furman will lecture this evening on "Social Tendencies" at Wurler's Hall, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn.

## FIGHTING UNDER FALSE COLORS.

More than once one hears drop from innocent lips the remark: "The debates in Congress mix me all up." The present expansion debate that is going on will no doubt be no exception to the mixing up qualities of our capitalist disputations. It nevertheless, deserves close watching: if followed closely and approached with the key of Socialist science, the secret will be discovered of why these debates "mix up" the innocent; incidentally, the discovery will throw light upon kindred mysteries.

"Expansionists" are arrayed against "Anti-expansionists." The arguments they use are those of "ethics," "patriotism," "religion," "morality," "Americanism," etc., etc.; both sides thus seem to fight under the same banner. It must not be highly "mixing" to the uninitiated how "Americanism," "ethics," "religion," "patriotism," and what not can each furnish such opposing practical conclusions: the one resulting in the "demonstration" that expansion is all that is holy and anti-expansion all that is un-holy; while the other results in the "demonstration" of all that is just the reverse. And yet how plain is not the mystery?

In the first place, our controversialists are not saying what they mean, they are both concealing what they mean; their real reasons for holding, as they respectively do, are not trotted forth into the field, and, consequently, not being exposed to being hit, are not overturned by one another; hence each side keeps its own field.

If the expansionists uncovered what they are really after, it would be found that their business, the industries that they represent and in whose behalf they are really speaking, need, in the opinion of these gentlemen, a broader market, and that that market can be best, easiest got by "expanding."

On the other hand, if the anti-expansionist capitalists were to open their hearts, it would be found that the interests of the industries they speak for would suffer by expansion.

Thus neither dares to say what he really means. Almost invariably the interests of one industry, in capitalist hands, flourishes best at the expense of another. If either admitted what he is after, he would forthwith give his adversary weapons against himself; thus both sides dodge the question, set up false colors under which to conceal their motives, and shift the field of discussion from where it actually belongs to a field where it does not belong. Thus what they actually do is to raise a cloud—a cloud that does not confuse them but that can not choose but confuse the innocent on-looker.

In the second place, the mystery helps to illustrate the scientific principle of Socialism that all sentiment about "patriotism," "religion," "our Fathers," etc., is, not the foundation, but the shadow and reflex of material interests. To the capitalist, whose dividends, or plunder from Labor, will be so increased by expansion that he would be able to purchase some more rotten princess for his daughters, and regale himself with some more "Little Egypt" debauches,—to such a worthy expansion becomes the acme of "religion," of "patriotism," of "Americanism," of "our Fathers," etc.

And vice versa, to the capitalist, whose dividends i. e., plunder of Labor, are so threatened by expansion as to endanger the satisfaction of his lewd senses and his vulgar aspirations, to such "Pillar of Society" anti-expansion stands translated into the sublimest "Americanism," the purest "religion," the noblest "patriotism," the most hallowed reverence for "the Fathers."

Let the fact, like prominent phylacteries, be well kept in sight by the Working Class: only by so doing will it escape being duped by the phrases of phrase-mongers and schemers.

Material interests alone give direction to the aspirations of mankind, as a whole: civilization depends, therefore, upon the ascendancy of such material interests as turn the face of the race upwards. The material interests of the Capitalist Class turn the face of man towards the mire, hence Civilization demands their overthrow; the material interests of the Working Class turn the face of man towards a nobler life, hence Civilization orders their victory.

Get from under!

Wholly at a loss what new issue to set up in 1900 so as to deceive the masses of our people and themselves get again into political power, the capitalist class is now proposing the following two national platforms:

## REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Stars and Stripes for Ever, Hooray!

## DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Hooray, for Ever the Stars and Stripes!

Our capitalist class, sublimated though it has become into a plutocracy has not yet lost its small trader character of bargain counter loudness to attract customers.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The Chicago "Despatch," writing under the shadow of the ex-Convict Capitalist Yerkes and of the labor-sponging Papa-in-law of the Vice-Reine of India, settles the question of Socialism in short order. It says:

All distinctions based upon capacity, intelligence, or industry would be obliterated and the idle, the vicious, and the criminal would be quartered upon the State on equal terms with the most intelligent, industrious, and useful members of society as low organized.

Truly, as a Chicago comrade remarks on the subject, the bogie man of the Christmas Annual is not in it with this grisly spectre of Socialism evolved by the Editor from his inner consciousness, or more likely from an undigested mince-pie with brandy sauce.

The Wellington "Voice" says and the Independence, Kans., "Populist"—Pops both—reprints the opinion that

The People's party will not disband. It will become a more formidable factor in the affairs of 1900 than it was in 1896.

Do not these redoubtable warriors of the middle class, holding such formidable language, while they are in full retreat, forcibly recall the passage in "The Eighteenth Brumaire" where Marx, describing the conduct of the French middle class in 1849, says:

The "Democratic Republic" next makes its bow: it goes out in a fizzle on June 13, 1849, with its run-away small traders, but, in fleeing, it scatters behind it ALL THE MORE BRAGGING ANNOUNCEMENTS OF WHAT IT MEANS TO DO.

In an interesting correspondence from E. Balfour Bux, of London, England, recently published in the Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin," the long domination of capitalism is given as the cause of the degradation of the working class of England, and the accompanying lack of education among them as an impediment to Socialist education. He says:

Three generations of the modern great industry, or, if we reckon from the very beginning, nearly four, has made the bulk of the working class from sheer use and wont, stupid and subservient.

It seems that Bux misses the point wholly; that he tries to saddle Capitalism with the shortcomings of the English Socialists themselves.

It is not Capitalism that must alone bear the blame for the degraded condition in which the British workers are to be found. The British Socialists are themselves to blame, and theirs is the main blame. In a country like England, where Capitalism started as early as it did, and where, differently from here, the working class have an extensive history back of them, despite peculiar drawbacks, the Socialist movement should be further than it is. The principal reason for things being otherwise and for the ignorance that to-day blocks the path of Socialist education despite all object lessons, lies in that the British Socialists, as a rule, few to one or other extreme on the Trade Union question: They either abjectly bowed down before the Union, worshipping it like a fetish, or they denounced it wholly, sweepingly, one of their leaflets going so far as to bear the heading: "To Hell with the Trade Unions."

Now, the economic movement of the workers is an irrepressible affair; to ignore or fear at it is equivalent to allowing electricity free, i. e., destructive away. On the other hand, to bow down before it as a thing sacrosanct, despite its serious limitations, is equivalent to confirming the errors that are congenial with it owing to the limited opportunities of its members to oversee the whole field and thus grasp the situation. It is such a policy that is to-day mainly answerable for the unquestionable backwardness of the class-conscious movement in England.

This fact is not to be overlooked here. Fortunately the S. L. P. of America has at last struck the right course, though none too soon, and has taken the only position that is in conformity with the facts, and that will save the Labor Movement of America the trials that it is subject to in England.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" quotes the following item from the "Call" of its own city:

Recently a Connecticut girl was murdered, and before the body had been identified the parents of ninety-two missing daughters had written to the authorities, fearing their child was the victim. Connecticut gave a very small contingent of the vast army of 100,000 girls who in this country alone, annually, are dragged down to prostitution. Talk of negro chattel slavery! It would not cast a shadow beside the blackness of the slavery of prostitution that has developed under the damnable, grab-game, competitive system, which still has the political support of the great mass of the very fathers of the girls who have been driven into the social evil by economic pressure.

And that Connecticut is the State that a Platt represents in the United States Senate,—the Platt who would carry "American Civilization" to the Philippines, and, if necessary, ram it down their throats. Does this Platt represent the unfortunate Connecticut working class whose daughters are driven in such numbers to despair? Is the civilization he wishes to enforce on the Tagals the civilization that produces such misery?

Will the Milford, Conn., "Citizen" come to the rescue of the Senator?

## THE "TOBIN-RESOLUTION" AND TAIL-END POLITICS.

[From N. Y. "Vorwaerts," German Organ of the S. L. P.]

In a report of the convention of the A. F. of L., which Max Hayes publishes in the Cleveland "Citizen," an incident is narrated from which our comrades may derive valuable lessons on tactics. The incident shows how valueless are declarations in favor of "Independent Labor political action," when they do not at the same time announce that what is meant thereby is political action under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party,—the only representative of honest and actual independent Labor politics.

Hayes reports that Tobin, the former Socialist and now Deist President of the Showworkers' Union, announced at the second day's session, Dec. 13, that the showworkers on strike in Marlboro had set up a "Labor Ticket" there in the municipal election, and had just conquered the whole municipal government.

This Tobin was the leader of the "sensible" Socialists at the convention, i. e., of those to whom the Socialist Labor Party is too dogmatic, too intolerant, too tyrannical. He was the mover of the resolution, that the convention rejected with 1,807 votes against 490, and that, in accord with the said "sensible" folks, avoided "dictating" to the members of the unions what particular party to support, but rather limited itself to a general declaration in favor of independent political action by the working class.

To the inexperienced, an express declaration in favor of "independent political action by the working class" may appear wholly incapable of being subject to a double sense. He, however, who has followed the manoeuvres of the fakirs in the American Labor Movement, knows that even this seemingly inequivalent expression can be twisted into a justification for the most contemptible political logrolling.

For some time, Gompers and his colleagues in the administration of the A. F. of L. have been publishing in their official organ, "The American Federationist," a programme of tactics wherein "the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and all other workingmen," "united action by the workers at all elections," and all other things looking to the "concentration of our forces against every form of industrial slavery" are advocated. Gompers, McGuire & Co. by no means mean by this declaration of "independence" that the workingmen should quit constituting the tail-end of the capitalist parties; what they mean is that the workingmen should simply avoid BINDING themselves to the capitalist parties, to the end that their hands remain free to attach themselves, as tail-end, now to the one and then again to the other. It was, for instance, in accordance with such interpretation, given to the "united," "independent" political action of Labor, that the thing was put into practice by the workingmen of Utica, in so far as, at the last election, they united their ballots, "independently" from their former party affiliations, upon the Republican candidate for Assembly, Williams, the present President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters; by the workingmen of Massachusetts, "independence" was put into practice in so far as, at the late election, they "united" their ballots upon the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State, the former President of the Brotherhood, Harry Lloyd.

A general declaration in favor of independent Labor Politics, is, accordingly, by no means to be accepted as an endorsement of revolutionary, Socialist Labor Politics. If the declaration does not expressly specify the representative of this Labor Politics,—the Socialist Labor Party,—then, as the Gompertes have proven, it may be construed as a declaration against the S. L. P. and in favor of the usual tail-end style of Labor Politics.

By the light of the experience made, the adoption of such a general declaration is by no means enough to define the actual tactics of those who adopt it.

Tobin gave additional demonstration hereof by the way he represented the election of Marlboro. He announced as a victory of independent Labor Politics an election, that the capitalist press reported as follows:

Edward J. Plunkett, DEMOCRATIC and CITIZENS' and WORKINGMEN'S candidate for Mayor, swept the city today. In addition to this his party landed 6 out of 7 Aldermen and easily controls the Common Council.

The result is largely attributed to the existing labor trouble, it being alleged that Labor and Capital in the respective halls of Democratic and Republican Majority candidates were arrayed against each other.

Mayor-elect Plunkett has had several years' experience in both branches of the city government, and it is expected that he will give the city a splendid business administration.

The so-called "independent" Labor Politics of Marlboro was actually TAIL-END POLITICS: the "Citizens and Labor" party was a bogus Labor party, that was called into existence in order to exploit in the interest of the Democratic party the then rebellious spirit among the working people in the town. It was the identical style of "Independent" Labor politics that Gompers, McGuire and Harry Lloyd advocate.

Comrade Martha Moore Avery, who tried to agitate for Socialism among the striking showworkers of Marlboro, gives in a report, published in THE PEOPLE (Dec. 25) some interesting points about that "Labor Party." She found, as chief manipulator of the same, a certain Murray, who is known among the showworkers as a bitter enemy of Socialism and of honest Labor politics. At a campaign meeting, at which this Murray presided, she found the above-named ex-President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters officiating as the leading speaker. She heard this leading speaker pronounce his activity as vote-catcher for capitalist politics, an exemplification of the principle of "independent Labor politics": he had not always been a Democrat, said he, but "only when the Democrats had a labor platform." Lloyd wanted to have it understood that, at the State election, when he figured as a candidate on the regular Democratic ticket, the same as in

Marlboro, where he was agitating for the Democratic Majority candidate, he was carrying on labor politics.

Such was the nature of the Marlboro campaign, which Tobin proclaimed as an independent campaign of the workingmen. By doing so he endorsed the fakirism that hucksters treacherable, capitalist politics as honest Labor politics. He thereby betrayed the fact that his conception of "independent Labor politics" does not necessarily exclude such tail-end politics; that, accordingly, a declaration proceeding from him in favor of independent Labor politics, is not to be taken in the revolutionary, Socialist and honest sense.

The Tobin resolution formulated correctly the aims and tactics of a Socialist Labor Movement. Nevertheless, it was worded in a general, abstract manner. It did not point to the party through which those aims and tactics were to be carried out; it left the trades unions free as to the manner of carrying out the independent political activity, declared to be necessary. Hence, it could have been twisted into a justification of the indirect or direct practice of tail-end politics, according to the style of Lloyd's; hence, also, it could be moved by a man who was at the same time applauding the tail-end politicians. For that very reason it was of no value.

It looks very much as though our wooden nutmeg partisans are about to be taught by the Tagals a valuable lesson in sociology that will take them down a peg or two in their preposterous conceit. Our country has grown in size, in wealth, in power. These wooden nutmeggers ascribe all this to some occult powers, latent in their nasal twang and swindle, and not at all to honest, industrious labor: They ignore the fact that, upon the heels of our soldiers, who westwardly fought the Indians, there followed an "army of occupation," the best sort of army of occupation possible, to wit, the SETTLERS. Thus every inch of ground taken by force of arms could be kept, and the advancing columns of soldiers were thus closely followed by their base of supplies.

Not so stands the case with their invasion of the Philippines. Large wastes of water impede any close following of our troops by the SETTLER—even if the settler would care to settle in malarial tropics, and even if the mail from Manila, which our wooden nutmeggers are tampering with, were not to warn potential settlers from constituting themselves into the necessary "army of occupation."

There are lessons in store for many a one.

## The Right to Life.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Stanislas Cullen, Spokane, Wash.]

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, etc."—Declaration of Independence.

"The Right to Life," what does it mean in the land of the "brave and the free"? Does it mean the "Right" of the worker to starve when a machine puts an end to his life?

Does it mean the "Right" of the child to toll in the days God has made for play?

Does it mean the "Right" of the poor man's girl to sell her priceless pearl for pay?

Does it mean the right of the rich to rule, and the right of the poor to be slaves?

With the right to the "Freedom of Contract" in life and the right to all paupers' graves?

Not so! Not so! by the souls of the men who wrote this sentence down. By the blood of reformers and martyrs from Christ to John Brown. By the words and deeds of a Lincoln; by the sacrifice of the brave who fought and died to free our land from the scourging black and the slave. The "Right to Life" means the right to love and the freedom of man to toil. And to have ALL the fruit of his labor; to have free access to the soil. To live as long as the rich man lives; to have brains with hearts full of glee. That's what the "Right to Life" implies in the land of the brave and the free.

That is the "Right" for which we stand, and no lesser "Right" will we take. Competitors in a slavery must give way, then people at last are awake.

The age of the Capitalist has passed; the age of the Brother begins; The golden rule which our fathers al- loved, our children shall punish as sin.

Rent, Interest, Wages and Profit once more to their housing place in hell.

Shall we return for aye, and to their Master say they have a wonderful story to tell.

Of how man at last the truth has grasped: that the bested life was to be free.

His brother's keeper, and both sower and reaper, in the land of the brave and the free.

Then no child will be compelled to toil ere he has learned to play.

No mother's loving heart shall break for a daughter gone astray.

Compelled by competition's curse to sell for Virtue and Youth and Happiness—Not not this—instead

A free and loving people—no tramp, no millionaire—no one shall be a slave.

Where each man has the "Right to Work" and no one steals his share;

Where "love ye one another" the common law shall be;

And the "Right to Life" shall be enforced in the land of the brave and the free.

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 Geo. G. Leavitt, 152 Harrison Avenue.  
 Coburn, 935 Washington Street.  
 John Braithwaite, 84 West Canton Street.



## Uncle Sam &amp; Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan (shaking his head dolefully and sighing to match)—"Tis sad; 'tis sad!"

Uncle Sam—Has the pest broken out among your friends, and carried them all off?

B. J.—That would be sad enough; but what I sigh over is, we seem sadder still. (More sighs and more doleful shakings of the head.)

U. S.—Tell me all about it, old boy; I may be able to give you consolation.

B. J. (looking enraged)—YOU? Consolation from YOU? Why, you are as bad as any of them, if not the worst of the lot.

U. S.—Come! Come!

B. J.—I'll show you. I have just seen THE PEOPLE'S "New Year's Greeting." And on it as an inscription: "Workingmen of all countries unite!"

U. S.—Isn't that all right?

B. J. (impatiently)—I should say it WAS all right; but not on a Socialist Labor party picture.

U. S.—Hey!!!

B. J. (angry)—No; not on a Socialist picture! You Socialists don't act as if you want to unite the workingmen. You fight everything. One set of workmen want free trade and hang you, you have to quarrel with them; another set expresses itself in favor of protection and you fall like a pile of bricks on them. (Angrier.) If another, honest lot set up a party for free silver there you are jumping on 'em. (Still angrier.) If some good intentioned people organize an "Army Party," why you begin to throw mud at them. You won't go together with anybody and you try to smash up everything. You jump upon everybody with hammer and tongs. You call that "uniting" the working class?

U. S.—Through?

B. J.—Yes, I am through.

U. S.—What's the matter with you is that you can't read English.

B. J.—I can't? Can't I?

U. S.—Exactly. You don't know what the word "unite" means.

B. J.—I don't? It means to bring together.

U. S.—And you understand by the command to bring the workingmen together that "they CAN be brought and kept together on any issue?"

B. J.—Why certainly, simply bring them together.

U. S.—See here. You are quite a shot, I know.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Now, if you set a platoon of soldiers aiming at a target, which are the shots that will come together?

B. J.—Those that hit bull's-eye.

U. S.—Just so. And what shots will hit bull's-eye?

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Those that are aimed correctly.

U. S.—Correct! If you want to have a lot of bullets fall together, they must be shot correctly. If so shot they hit the same mark; if not correctly shot they will fall apart. Accident may bring one, or two, or a few more together but these will fall apart from the bulk, and the bulk of them will fall far apart from one another. Bull's-eye is one spot, there the correctly shot ones unite; the whole immensity of space is there for the others and there will be as many spots hit by them as there are different spots in space. So with men. To come together, to be united, they must unite on what is right and correct. There is but one correct thing on which to unite. On an incorrect thing there is no unity possible because the incorrect things are as numerous as the spots in space that wrongly aimed bullets may hit. Furthermore, to "come together" is of no use unless one can "keep together."

Error is so numerous that unity upon it is absurd. When, therefore, the Socialists call upon the workingmen to unite, they can not mean that they should come together on error. The Socialists know that enough men can not unite on any error, let alone stay together. THE great scatterer of the workingman is, therefore, not the Socialist who points out the right point and methods; the scatterer is he who fails to learn "how to shoot," who interferes with those who are teaching this art, and who howls "unite," "unite," while he is in fact, knowingly and unknowingly, keeping the people apart. Now, my man, that's all there is about it. You are misaddressing your sighs.

B. J.—But how long will it take to unite?

U. S.—Oh, that's an other question. Admitting, as you must do, that the workingmen can not unite on an error, and that the only union possible is on the right principle and tactics, then you must admit that the conduct of the Socialists is the correct one. It is the only union possible. If they don't bring unity about, nobody else will.

B. J. (sighing)—Well, that may be; but all this fighting—

U. S.—Is this necessary. The issue is a life and death issue. The scatterer must be opposed; they must be fought; in proportion to their obstinacy and perversity they must be fought all the harder. They will howl, yes; we shall have to be severer than we would wish, yes; but never forget that it is the height of silliness to want your pound of meat and yet recoil before the drop of blood that the cutting produces incidentally. He who earnestly wants a thing, must want it despite accessories.



## WOMAN.

(Continued from page 1.)

logical conclusion that when the further organization is reached this shall obtain.

Through the present existing order woman is compelled to become a breadwinner. She is not free to choose. Having become industrially valuable, and through various reasons not being able to make even as fair terms with capital as other laborers, she is the lowest of the wage slaves, and finds herself compelled to compete with father and brother in the labor market.

Again, when industrial disturbances arise, it is woman who is soonest thrown out of work. In 1891, out of nearly 200,000 employees thrown out of work by strikes 94 per cent. were females and but 3 per cent. were males. In the same year, of the 30,000 employees out of work through lock-outs 50 per cent. were men and 40 per cent. were women. Says the Socialist Almanac in remarking on these statistics:

"The foregoing table affords a remarkable illustration of the brutality and cowardice of the capitalist class in a body. It shows, on the one hand, that the percentage of wage-working women involved in strikes is very small. Compelled by the direct necessity to leave the home for the shop, they generally submit to any extortion rather than put in jeopardy by a protest the mite upon which an aged parent, a younger sister, a child, or perhaps also a sick, or unemployed husband may depend for subsistence. But it shows, on the other hand, that they figure in a very large proportion among the lock-out employees. In the year of great capitalist prosperity, 1891, the percentage of female labor in lock-outs was nearly 41 per cent. The capitalist struck the women down in order to compel the men to surrender."

Thus under compulsion she enters the industrial world with frequently—hours long—work fatiguing, and pay insufficient. The home suffers for care, the health of mother and children is undermined, and the necessities of life only are possible without the means of pleasure or culture.

This very fact that women are thus becoming more and more wage-earners is used by the capitalist class to create sex war and disguise the fact of class war. The argument is brought forward, on the one hand, that it is in some way the fault of the unemployed men that this condition exists. Women are told that it is due to lack of ambition that the husband or father is out of work. This but serves the purpose of setting one great body of the workers against the interests of the other.

And but blinds eyes to the fact all is a product of the social conditions. Woman fails to see that at present she is but used to increase the laboring class and make the struggle for employment greater and the resulting profit to the capitalist greater. She has failed to see that her interest is at one with all laborers, that the secondary question is one of sex, that there is no strife at root between the working men and the working women—all are of the laboring class.

On the other hand, many men object to women as a new competitor on the ground that she works cheaper, and thus lowers the rate of all wages and also that she shows no spirit to assist the cause of labor by uniting in unions. This is true, but again the fault rests not with the woman but with the system.

Compelled to enter the labor market, she can often obtain work only at a lower rate of wages. Being usually at the limit of existence before she becomes a wage earner, she is forced to accept the terms offered her.

More than this, long ages of submission will, I believe, account for her lack of spirit and a psychological make-up, peculiarly her own, due to repression and a confined life. I will endeavor to show later on, have made her the individual creature she is.

There is no dispute as to the fact that all women engaged in the manufacturing industries and professional services as doctors, teachers, etc., are of the laboring class. Frequently, however, in the professions they are inclined to have capitalistic sympathies, but the stern law of the labor market proves to many that they are one with the workers as their particular profession becomes rapidly overcrowded.

As to whether women engaged solely in the home work are to be so classed is again no question. Women working thus depend on man for subsistence and consequently must cast their sympathy with the laborers, if such supporter is a laborer.

Let us analyze the effect of the present industrial system, on the domestic workers, on the wives and daughters of the laborers. Many women fail to work for better industrial conditions, thinking that with marriage they will withdraw from the labor world. In this again they do not appreciate the situation. As the wife of a proletarian she still remains a laborer and often the sorrows of the poor fall with double weight on the women.

Next to the great evil of having a large body of unemployed men resulting from our society, is the irregular employment and the low wages. Says Canon Barnett: "While wages are at the present rate the large mass of our people cannot get enough food to maintain them in robust health, and bodily health is here alone considered." In addition to this fact of insufficient food, the whole burden of the work of the home falls on a woman frequently physically unable to bear it. Receiving no assistance in the preparing of food, making of clothing and caring for her children and obliged often to see all this ill done, it means to many women a mental and physical breakdown.

Although it may be felt that her work is in direct personal contact with those she loves, nevertheless she is as indispensably a helpless drudge. Science applied has revolutionized the industry of the world, but it has never been claimed that its effects have been far-fetched in the home. It has failed as yet to become the bond slave of woman, and in many things she still moves on in the little circle handed down by ancestors. In other words, the home work has not evolved far beyond its primitive stage.

This almost exclusive home life has had great importance in determining

woman's psychological condition. Bel-fort Bax, in speaking of the conservatism of the English laborers, in a recent issue of the "Tocsin" says: "Three generations of the modern great industry, if we reckon from the very beginning, nearly four, has made the bulk of the working class from sheer use and wont, stupid and subservient." All that has been said of the workingman's change in a few generations has been intensified in woman by countless ages. For centuries her work has made her a shut-in being. The bearing and rearing of her children has meant long periods of almost exclusion from society. The work of the house cannot fail to fall into monotony if there are not frequent complete changes for the woman.

Engrained thus in herself and family she has for generations grown self-centered and individualistic. All this is in a measure analogous to the condition of the laborers under the "domestic system" in the 18th century before the introduction of machinery brought them together in the large factories.

Woman has thus become the conservative element in society, and this has been still more furthered by the prevailing opinion that the home is woman's only sphere. Following from this it is found that woman, has remained almost wholly without class-consciousness. Individually she has felt the wrongs done to her by present society, but has had little sympathy for the remainder of the great body of workers. She reflects little on social conditions. As a natural result, thus far where found engaged in social work she is occupied with the patch work of small things with little or no conception of the relations of cause and effect or the great laws governing social progress. Her fragmentary contributions to sociological and economic literature are mostly characterized by this same lack of broad unprejudiced insight and thus far have as a whole obtained almost no status in the scientific world.

But society, so far from remaining in a stationary condition, is forced onward by the law of development. The history of the workingman's evolution is still to be repeated in women, and by uniting her cause with the laborers she will attain a political and economic freedom. A study of present day events shows that hers will not be the long struggle lasting through centuries that the laborer has been compelled to make. Changes in the economic organization with the victory of the proletariat will bring about her equality in a comparatively short period.

From being forced into industry she will be free to choose her employment. Numbing toil will become healthful work and will no longer be the mark of an oppressed class.

Corresponding changes must result in the home. It will be robbed of none of its privacy or pleasant associations. On the other hand, all tendency shows that the drudgery of the house can be better done outside, and must be removed. Laundry work, heating, lighting, cooking, etc., will be given more and more over to public service. All this will mean that it will be far better done, especially cooking, when put under the care of scientifically trained cooks, will bring a great increase in the general good health.

This we believe will come in the natural evolution of society and industry. It will change woman from an economical dependent on man and the sex problem will solve itself. Women at present must recognize the fact that all effort put forth for her sex alone will never go to the bottom of the matter—that if she would wish effectually to gain equality for herself and justice and opportunity for her children it must be through working for the rights of the laboring class—men and women.

## AS TO THE S. T. &amp; L. A.

(Continued from page 3.)

omic organization. The "pure and simple" union itself, which claims to be "purely and simply" economic, can hardly meet without discussing some matter connected with politics. This is so evident that it needs not be enlarged upon: "Committees on Legislation" are conspicuous things in trade unions. This fact demonstrates the other fact that the labor question is essentially a political question. All that can be said of the trade union is that it concerns itself mainly with the economic side of the Labor Question. Between the Alliance and the "pure and simple" union there is on this subject no difference except that the former recognizes the important part that politics play in the Labor Question, while the latter, if honest, does not recognize it, and, if dishonest, denies it all to the injury of the interests of Labor.

M. Steek of Section Newburgh, would like to hear from Harry Pierce, formerly of said Section, and now supposed to be somewhere in the East.

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## OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.  
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Kuhn, 101 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

## National Executive Committee.

Meeting of Jan. 10. John J. Kinnally in the chair. Absent, Harry Pierce. The financial report for the week ending Jan. 7 showed receipts in the amount of \$338.90; expenditures, \$296.24.

The sub-committee on the communication of the Cigar-makers' Union No. 20 reported favoring publication for the following reasons: "The spirit and language of the communication is a scandalous and false attempt to bring accusations against the Editor of THE PEOPLE, and it is indignant; the last sentence is a complete expose of the committee of No. 20, and we therefore consider the publication of the communication its best refutation; the communication was evidently written with the purpose of having this N. E. C. reject it, so that it could be accused of unfair treatment; the committee of No. 20, that what the Editor of THE PEOPLE has made clear is a fact, to wit, that Union No. 20 is not capable as a body, but its committee is evidently as incapable as the union itself; in conclusion we recommend the publishing of the letter in order to end what seems to be an interminable discussion by those who are hard hit, and to show that the N. E. C. has done everything in its power to give the other side a full hearing, submitting the whole affair to the S. L. P. for their judgment."

In the discussion that followed it was pointed out in opposition to publication that, whatever points were made in relation to the Seldeneberg matter, had already been published, and that there was no need of rehearsing them; that the argument that the N. E. C. might be charged with unfairness in case of refusal would not hold good; that, if next week another release of the same matter was presented, the same charge could then be made if the N. E. C. refused. The vote being taken, it stood, for publication, 10 yeas, 2 nays. The reasons of the committee, Brown and Malkiel, against Kinnally, Murphy and Sauter. Stahl stated that, although in favor of publication, he could not vote for the recommendation of the committee, because of the reasons given.

Section Jeannette sent subscription lists for the new French paper "Le Bourdon" (The Tocsin, about to be published). The paper was attractive and the same to such State Committees as have a field for agitation among French-speaking workers, the State Committees to send them to the Sections, urging them to gather subscribers.

Section New Bedford, No. 1, reported the expulsion of Franz Braunehel for having, at the last municipal election worked against the S. L. P. and to send the same to the new Sections in New Bedford, Mass. and East Pittsburg, Pa., and Freshwater and Bakersfield, Cal.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

## Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN.—Although Section New Haven may not appear so openly aggressive in its attacks upon capitalism as so old and strong a Section should be, the quiet and persistent agitation and the fact of guaranteeing our contributing our full quota to the increased vote of the S. L. P. as regularly as election comes, our hall of New Haven was a grand success in spite of unfavorable weather, and the receipts will aid greatly in conducting an aggressive municipal campaign this spring. The Section has been relieved of the presence of some of its discordant element who joined the S. L. P. with an alacrity born of malice; but that agglomeration is too weak to be important. The important thing is that the S. L. P. in the 5th, in Carpenters' Hall to an overflow meeting. We have arranged to continue agitation and discussion meetings every second and fourth Sunday afternoon, until after election in April. We confidently expect to develop some speakers who will make Section New Haven known outside of Connecticut.

ORGANIZER.

## Massachusetts.

STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—The Massachusetts C. C. has a plan for launching a campaign fund, not only for the State Committee, but for the party in every town or city in which we are organized. It is known as the "32-Campain Penny Fund of the Mass. S. L. P." The plan affords an opportunity for every comrade and honest sympathizer to work for the cause of his own emancipation. The important thing, such a fund has always been apparent, but it is more so now. Your S. L. P. C. C. according to the Election Acts of 1888 must in the future be composed of one hundred and twenty-five members, and the S. L. P. C. C. must have 10 Districts in which the party is not organized, and it appears to be necessary, so your committee are making steps to organize those districts, besides all this there are many other points of much interest and promise, so your S. L. P. C. C. desire the Chairman of each Town or City Committee, as well as those who receive the coupon books to place out as many as possible. Each comrade or sympathizer should call upon the Committee of their town for one or more of these books and suggest to the members of these books and suggest to the members of the party.

L. D. USHER, Secretary.

## New York.

The following is the result of two general votes, taken in the various subdivisions of Section New York, S. L. P.:  
1. Shall the Section of the General Committee in withdrawal? The Section's delegates from the New York Central Labor Federation be endorsed? Resulted as follows: In favor, 20; against, 1.  
2. Shall the recommendation of the General Committee, favoring the request of Branch Stapleton, S. L. P., and other Socialists of Richmond Borough, to sever connection from Section New York, S. L. P., and take out a separate Section charter covering that Borough, be endorsed? In favor, 35; against, 1.  
For the General Committee.

L. ABELSON, Organizer.

## Rhode Island.

A State Convention of the S. L. P. in Rhode Island will be held Friday, Jan. 27, 1899, at 8 p. m., in Textile Hall, 1835 Westminster street, Providence, R. I., to nominate a State ticket for the election in April, to take action on the personnel of the State committee, and to transact any other party business.

By order of State Committee, 8.15.22 J. WITTM.  
A meeting of Providence Section, S. L. P., will be held in Textile Hall, 1835 Westminster street, Providence, R. I., on Friday, Jan. 27, 1899, immediately on the adjournment of the State Convention, to nominate a General Assembly ticket for the election in April and to transact any Section business. L. SILVERBERG, Secretary City Committee Providence Sections, S. L. P. 8.15.22

## Texas.

TEXAS STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P.

San Antonio, Tex., Dec. 29, 1898.  
To the Sections, Comrades and Wage-Workers of Texas.—Our first battle in this State is just over, the next will take place in 1900, at which time our vote should be at least 5,000. Will every comrade put his shoulder to the wheel, NOW, yes, AT ONCE, and let us have the opportunity to explain the noble aims of the S. L. P. and when the "opportunity" don't present itself, then bring it forth. If they will, there will be no cause for surprise to see our vote pass the 5,000 mark.  
Section San Antonio has received within the last 60 days 180 party papers for the purpose of selling them in the streets, shops, factories, etc., and at the hall. They will sell them at 5 cents per copy, and their success has simply been grand. They have also obtained many subscribers. Will the Sections and members at large take note of this?  
"The People's Library" and "Treasury of Facts" should be in the hands of every comrade. Price per copy, 50 cents; in lot of 10 or more, 35 cents per copy. Order

from THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York.

The subscribers of our party papers, living where there is no Section of the party, we request that they become members at large as soon as possible. It is our duty to have a full material to select from in 1900 in order to put out a full State ticket, and also to have as many candidates for the Legislature as possible. No member can be nominated for office unless he has been a member for at least one year and takes an active interest in the party. For application blank address: Frank Lettner, 225 Centre street, San Antonio, Texas, and enclose 2-cent stamp for reply. Those who wish to organize Sections requires 10 men) address as last above stated.

We think it in order to commence now and create a campaign fund for use in 1901, and suggest that at each weekly meeting each comrade contribute for this purpose 5 cents, and that the Financial Secretary remit the amount so contributed on the first of each month to Comrade Chas. Milrow, State Secretary, San Antonio, Texas, who will receipt for same. A full statement of receipts and expenditures during the past campaign will be furnished the Sections after our next meeting.

Fraternally,

Chas. Milrow, O. J. Mills, E. J. Ayer, R. J. Harris, O. Lettner, Hugo Lick, Otto Lindau, State Committee.

FRANK LETTNER, State Organizer.

## Wisconsin.

MILWAUKEE.—Section Milwaukee held its annual general meeting on Friday, Jan. 6, and elected the following officers: Organizers: Richard Koepfel, Financial Secretary: Fred Henschel; Treasurer: Fred Schuster; Librarian: Rochus Rabinick; Literature Agent: Maria Schumacher; Finance Committee: Ernst Schumacher, Dr. P. Goerke and Rudolph Wilke; Press Committee: Rudolph Wilke, Ernst Schumacher, Dr. P. Goerke, Chas. Barisch and August Schnabel; County Chairman: Richard Koepfel.  
The organization of the Section was formed as follows: Each Branch has to elect to the Central Committee one delegate for every 10 members and fraction thereof. Finance and agitation shall also be centralized. The desire of the English-speaking comrades for a separate charter was refused, but the English Branch was recognized as such.

The Financial Secretary submitted a favorable report that showed 33 members in good standing. The State Committee reported to the Section that the former members Dr. Sam Knopf, Engel and John Moser to be unworthy of the confidence of Section Milwaukee, and therefore they should claim to have representation of Section Milwaukee. The Section, furthermore, the Committee reported that this resolution shall be published in the party paper.

The Press Committee submitted the following report:  
Collected on 15 lists.....\$120.00  
From Central Committee.....100.00  
Total.....\$220.00

Expenditures:  
To each Section Milwaukee.....\$30.00  
Books.....20  
Printing.....8.50  
Total.....\$68.50

Amount in bank.....\$181.50

The collection will be continued.

All of the foregoing reports were accepted.

RICHARD KOEPFEL, Organizer.

1035 Fifth street.

## Washington, D. C.

The Twentieth Century Labor League will meet at 607 C street, N. W., on Sunday evening, 7:30 p. m. Julian Pierce will lecture on "The Relation of Commerce and Credit to the Development of Capitalist Production." All about new passages in the first two chapters of Kant's "The Capitalist Class" will be explained.

## THE SECRETARY.

## British Columbia.

Section Vancouver, B. C., the first Section of the Canadian S. L. P., in British Columbia, was organized with 23 members, which will shortly increase to 50.  
It is too late to enter the present municipal campaign, but we hope to be candidates at all future elections and TO BE IN AT THE DEATH when British Columbia finally joins the Socialist column and repudiates the capitalist class now in possession of her Government.  
Other Sections will shortly be organized in this Province.

## General Executive Board, S. T. &amp; L. A.

The regular meeting of the General Executive Board was held on Thursday evening, Jan. 5, at the headquarters, 23 Duane street. Members present: Wilson, De Leon, Hoffmann, Murphy, and others. Minutes of last meeting read and approved.

Communications: One from Geo. A. Ballard, Secretary Textile Workers of Rhode Island, ordering supplies, etc.; one from the National Secretary S. L. P., Henry Kuhn, requesting that information and organizing material be sent to S. M. White, of Augusta, Ga., and stating that the textile workers of that place are on strike; one from Peter Dunn, Secretary of the S. L. P. in Chicago, in answer to inquiry made by the secretary. Also states that the amount of per capita tax now due will be paid to the Board as soon as Morgan turns in the money in his possession belonging to D. A. H.

Charter applications: One from Painter and Paper Hangers of Greater New York, granted; one from children of dark-skinned of Brooklyn referred to special committee to make further investigation.  
Communications were also received from L. D. Usher, Secretary State Central Committee of Massachusetts; P. H. Morris, of Chicago, Ill.; Leather Workers, Philadelphia, and New Bedford, asking general information, etc.

W. L. BROWER,

General Secretary.

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What Means This Strike?......05  
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## Trades' and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding lines) will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their place of meetings.

## GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADE

AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 Duane

street, Room 90, New York City.

General Secretary: William L. Brower.

Financial Secretary: Murphy, 61

Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3rd, 5th

Thursday evenings at 5 p. m., 2nd

Thursday evenings at 8 p. m., 3rd

Thursday evenings at 10 p. m., 4th

Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa.

## CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION

NEW YORK. Meets at 2:30 every

day afternoons at 64 1/2 5th street, New

York City. All bona-fide trade and

Unions should be represented. Com-

munications are to be sent to the Cor-

responding Secretary, Ernest E. Kim, 64

4th street, New York City.

## SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P.

County Committee representing the Sec-

tion meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in